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JPRS 82464

14 December 1982

# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2085

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MACEDONIA: HEARTLAND OF BULGARIAN KINGDOM IN 10TH CENTURY

Sofia NARODNA MLADZHZH in Bulgarian 24 Oct 82 pp 1, 2, 11

[BTA report: "Stronghold of Bulgarian Spirit--Samuil's Fortress Memorial Complex at Foot of Belasitsa Officially Opened"]

[Text] PETRICH, 23 October. On the legendary hill between Belasitsa and Ograzhden there was enacted in the year 1014 one of the most dramatic episodes in the 13-century history of the Bulgarian people--the battle between the armies of Tsar Samuil and the Byzantine invaders. This holy spot in our chronicles, called Samuil's fortress by the people, is a sacred symbol now, too, of the readiness of Bulgarians to sacrifice themselves to protect their homeland, to defend its name and uphold it proudly and unshakably. Erected literally on the dust of Samuil and his brave warriors and on the pain of a national tragedy, the Samuil's Fortress Memorial Complex now rises majestically here.

On the occasion of the official opening of the complex a stirring assembly and meeting was held at the foot of Belasitsa today.

Present were member of the BCP Central Committee and first deputy minister of the Council of Ministers, Todor Bozhinov; candidate member of the Political Bureau of the BCP Central Committee, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Committee for Culture, Georgi Yordanov; secretary of the BCP Central Committee, Stoyan Mikhaylov; department heads of the BCP Central Committee; first secretary of the DKMS [Dimitrov Communist Youth Union] Central Committee, Stanka Shopova; first secretary of the Blagoevgrad okrug party committee, Vladimir Sandev, and other okrug and city leaders; veterans of revolutionary struggles; generals and officers of the Bulgarian People's Army; many guests from the capital, from all over the country and abroad.

The meeting was opened by the first secretary of the Petrich BCP obshtina committee, Metodi Ribnishki. "Our people are receiving another relic of their inexhaustible optimism and another confirmation that we keep holy in our memory every page of our 13-century annals," he said. "Socialist Bulgaria feels filial admiration for the cause of Samuil, this ancient Bulgarian tsar whose life for more than 40 years was self-abnegation on behalf of Bulgaria's freedom, an example of selflessness in defense of its independence. This sacred hill on which we stand does not have the unfading glory of an "imperial capital."



Our national history still shunts it to the rear while it opens its pages for Great Preslav or Pliska. Unquestionably, however, its place is there, on a par with the shrines of the First Bulgarian Empire. By sword and thought Preslav and Pliska created the material and spiritual values of the young Bulgarian state. Samuil's Fortress shed its last drop of blood in their defense. These are sources of patriotism and national pride that are identical in power; this is historic heroism that is identical in significance.

"The Samuil's Fortress Memorial Complex," the orator continued, "is the result of long years of research, of coordinated efforts. Archeological excavations were needed to show us its authenticity, sculptors and architects were needed to recreate them, builders were needed to construct them. That is why our gratitude is profound. It is addressed, first and foremost, to the never-to-be-forgotten Lyudmila Zhivkova, who saw in 'Samuil's Fortress' a future monument of nationwide homage and with her characteristic party-minded passion and energy undertook to make it a national treasure."

Academician Dimitur Angelov delivered an address on "The Struggle of the Bulgarian People to Establish and Defend the Bulgarian State and the Great Selflessness of Samuil's Warriors":

"We are gathered together in festive celebration before one of the most stirring monuments of our distant past. We are in front of 'Samuil's Fortress,' one of the strongholds of the First Bulgarian State, one of the silent witnesses of the Bulgarian people's heroic struggle to preserve their freedom and independence. Our celebration provides an occasion to turn back in thought nearly a millennium ago to those days of arduous trials, to those times that steeled the will of the Bulgarian who had risen up in defense of his native land. We turn back in thought to the events, filled with exceptional tension, from the end of the 10th to the beginning of the 11th century, associated with the name of Tsar Samuil and with the heroism of an entire people. These are events, about which we find information mainly in the works of the Byzantine chroniclers and historiographers and which in the mass reveal to us a drama-packed picture of one of the most fateful periods of our medieval history that left profound traces in the memory of generations.

"As is well known, the Bulgarian state, created in 681, was able to achieve great successes in its political, ethnic and cultural development as a result of adroit domestic and foreign policy. For about two centuries its boundaries included all Slavs of the Bulgarian group inhabiting the geographic regions of Moesia, Thrace and Macedonia. By the end of the ninth and the beginning of the 10th century, Bulgarian nationality had once and for all won recognition as a monolithic, ethnosocial and ethnocultural community uniting Slavs and proto-Bulgarians into a whole. With the introduction of the Slavic written language and the formation of educated and literary circles in Pliska, Preslav and Ochrid, the Bulgarian state rapidly set forth on the path of a cultural advance extraordinary for its time, the peak of which was "the golden age" during the reign of Tsar Simeon. The medieval Bulgarian cities sprang up and developed as centers of busy economic activity, of educated and literary life. The prestige of the Bulgarian state as one of the most powerful and best organized state formations won recognition not only in the European Southeast, but also in the whole of Europe.

"Thus these successes in the political, economic and cultural development of medieval Bulgaria took place in quite an uneasy setting, characteristic of the feudal middle ages--a setting of frequent military clashes with various adversaries and, above all, with the neighboring Byzantine Empire. Time and again, as is evident from the course of events in the eighth to 10th century, Bulgaria and Byzantium came into sharp conflict and repeatedly the ambition of individual Byzantine emperors, as, for example, Constantine V Copronymus (741-775) and Nicephorus I, Logothete of the General Fund (802-811), to subject their northern neighbor to their authority was discernible. The Byzantine emperor John I Tzimisce, who ascended the throne in 969, i.e. at a time when the Bulgarian state after Simeon's death and Peter's rule was experiencing a period of political and military decline, acted in the spirit of a similar policy. And, as is known, in 971, when Tsar Peter had died and his son Boris II was on the throne in the capital of Preslav, John Tzimisce launched a surprise campaign against Bulgaria, crossed the Balkan Range, captured Preslav and occupied the northeastern Bulgarian lands (between the Danube, the Balkan Range, the Black Sea and the Isker River). Boris II was taken prisoner to Constantinople, and the occupied territory was turned into a Byzantine province.

"Grievous though the blow inflicted in 971 may have been, it by no means signified, however, that the Bulgarian state had perished. It continued to exist, although with diminished territory, preparing for decisive resistance against its dangerous enemy. And since the northeastern Bulgarian lands had fallen under foreign rule, the political center of the state shifted to the southwest. As is known, four Bulgarian boyar brothers--David, Moses, Aaron and Samuil, sons of Count Nicholas, highest official and governor of the city of Serdika (Sofia)--took the lead of the Bulgarian lands untouched by the Byzantine invasion and comprising present-day Northwestern Bulgaria, Sofia Oblast, the valleys of the Mesta and Struma and almost the whole of Macedonia. On them came to rest the onerous task of stabilizing the shattered position of the state and of frustrating any new attempts at aggressive operations on the part of Byzantium. And their efforts were crowned with success. In a number of battles the Byzantines suffered serious defeats, and in 976 when John Tzimisce died and Basil II ascended the throne, the four brothers, taking advantage of the internal crisis that had arisen in the empire, succeeded in driving the conqueror out of the occupied northeastern Bulgarian lands, and thus the Bulgarian state was once more restored to its previous territorial integrity with the exception of part of Thrace. But its political center had now shifted to the southwest, and Preslav, though liberated from Byzantine rule, was not restored again as the capital. Originally, as is evident from the data of the sources, Serdika (Sofia)--where their father, Count Nicholas, had been--became the center of the Bulgarian lands ruled by David, Moses, Aaron and Samuil. Later the capital was moved to Voden; afterwards, when Samuil had become a one-man ruler, his seat was the city of Prespa, and by the end of his reign Ochrid became the capital city. The seat of the patriarch--the head of the Bulgarian church--likewise moved in accordance with the transfers of the capital from one city to another. The first patriarch was Damian, who after the fall of the Eastern Bulgarian lands abandoned his seat in the city of Drustur (Silistra) and found refuge with the four brothers while continuing to direct religious affairs. The city of Serdika probably became his residence. He was succeeded by German, about whom we know from a list of Bulgarian patriarchs

that 'he bore witness' in Voden and Prespa, i.e. in the two later capital cities. But the last Bulgarian patriarch of the Samuelian state, David, by then had Ochrid as his center.

"After the return of the northeastern Bulgarian Lands, hostile operations between Byzantium and Bulgaria continued with unremitting intensity. The four brothers began aggressive operations against southern Macedonia and Thessaly. The youngest brother, Samuil, penetrated Thessaly with his troops, while Moses advanced on Seres but fell during the siege of the city. The other brother, David, perished at the same time. Soon afterwards Aaron died too, and all power passed into the hands of Samuil, who by 979 succeeded in taking Thessaly. In the meanwhile the former Bulgarian tsar Boris II and his brother, Roman, prisoners in Constantinople, succeeded in escaping and made for Bulgaria. At the border, however, Boris was killed by mistake by the Bulgarians who took him for a Byzantine, and only Roman managed to reach Samuil's residence. Since he wanted to emphasize his continuity with the old dynasty, Samuil recognized and proclaimed Roman as tsar although he actually remained the chief director of affairs of state.

"Alarmed by the successes of the Bulgarians, the Byzantine emperor Basil II decided to launch a counterblow. Assembling a huge army, he set out by the Plovdiv-Adrianople road for Serdika and placed it under siege. His attempts to take the city by storm remained ineffective and he was compelled to withdraw. On the way back, however, his army was suddenly attacked by Samuil in the long and narrow "Bulgarian Gorge" in the Yavoritsa River valley (between the Gates of Trajan and Vetren) and smashed completely on 17 August 986. Many Byzantines fell in battle and the Byzantine emperor had a narrow escape from captivity. Inspired by the great victory, the Bulgarians undertook wide-scale military operations during the next two years. A considerable strip along the Adriatic coast (the Byzantine theme of Dyrrhachium) was seized and the cities of Verria (Berrhoea) and Servia were liberated from Byzantine rule, with Dobromir and Niculitzes installed there by Samuil as governors.

"Gradually, however, after the internal crisis had passed, the Byzantine empire recovered from the blows inflicted on it and the emperor Basil II, famous for his tenacity and indomitable energy, began anew--and, what is more, with great vigor--his attempts to crush his northern neighbor. There began a new and decisive phase in the military clash between Byzantium and Bulgaria that had already gone on for years. The Byzantine emperor was the attacker and aggressor and Samuil gradually had to go over to the defensive. Bitter military operations were conducted between 991-994 when the Byzantine forces penetrated deep into the southwestern Bulgarian lands and ravaged them, with Tsar Roman taken prisoner in one battle. In response to the Byzantine offensive, three years later Samuil launched a counterblow, moved through Thessaly, Boeotia and Attica and got as far as the Peloponnesus, but on the way back suffered defeat in a battle on the Spercheus River (997). Meanwhile, after the death of Roman, who perished while a prisoner in Constantinople, Samuil was officially proclaimed Tsar of the Bulgarians (according to a 12th-century Serbian source, the chronicle of the priest Dukljanin).

"Raising great forces at the beginning of the 11th century, the Byzantine emperor renewed military operations against Bulgaria. In 1001 he succeeded in recapturing the northeastern Bulgarian lands, while in the following year he seized the cities of Berrhoea and Servia. In 1003 the Byzantines attacked Vidin after a siege lasting several months. The next year (1004) Basil attempted to seize the Pernik fortress, one of the most dazzling strongholds of the Samuelian state. But the defender of the fortress, the voivode Krakra, "a man distinguished in military affairs," as the Byzantine chronicler Scylitzes characterized him, repelled the enemy's attacks and the Byzantines were compelled to withdraw. For his part, Tsar Samuil, "a warrior who never knew repose," as Scylitzes, again, put it, made great efforts to put an end to enemy pressure. In 1003 when the Byzantines besieged Vidin, he launched a counter-attack and with his forces penetrated as far as Adrianople. And the next year when Basil II made desperate efforts to take Pernik, the Bulgarian [line missing due to transposition] advanced against Thessalonica and took prisoner the military commander of Thessalonica, John of Chaldia, who sallied forth against them. Thus Samuil, maneuvering skillfully, succeeded to a significant extent in making the enemy hesitate and in thwarting his further aggressive plans.

"The period between 1004-1011 passed comparatively more tranquilly. But this was actually a temporary lull before a new great storm. Having decided to wage life-and-death war, the Byzantine emperor Basil II prepared the next blow. For his part, Samuil, who was very well aware of Basil's intentions, was taking corresponding measures. The fortress walls of various cities that had suffered during combat operations were repaired and reinforced; military discipline was tightened up.

"The fateful moment came in the summer of 1014 when Basil II at the head of a large army marched away from (Kser) and invaded the Struma River valley. Here he was halted, however, by a large earthen fortification, erected by order of Samuel in the so-called Klyuch (or Petrich) pass between the mountains Ograzhden and Belasitsa. Again the Byzantine chronicler Scylitzes mentions the Bulgarian ruler's fortification measures, undertaken with a view to preventing the enemy's advance: 'And since Samuil knew,' he tells us, 'that the emperor usually invades through the so-called Cimbalongus [Long Plain] and Kleidion [Klyuch], he decided to fortify this narrow pass and bar the emperor's access. And thus he threw up a very wide wall, mounted reliable sentinels thereon and waited for the emperor.'

"And, as a matter of fact, it is precisely the defensive system that Scylitzes was talking about and that was erected in 1014 during the new war that had begun with Byzantium (the hamlet itself dated from the ninth century and was destroyed in 1003) with which we must associate this earthen fortification now in front of us and which is known by the name of Samuil's Fortress.

"The development of events, which culminated tragically for the Bulgarians and Tsar Samuil, is well known. At first the enemy's assault was rebuffed and all Basil II's attempts to advance encountered the stubborn resistance of the Bulgarian troops and their experienced leader. 'The emperor,' Scylitzes tells us, 'had already lost hope of getting through.' But a Byzantine detachment, led by

Nicephorus (Esifia), succeeded in bypassing the mountain Belasitsa (probably by the road which now as well leads from the village of Dolni Poroy via Matnitsa to the village of Klyuch) and showed up unexpectedly behind the defenders' back. There followed a bloody battle which culminated with 14,000 (and according to another source, 15,000) Bulgarian warriors being taken prisoner. This took place on 29 July 1014. Samuil himself barely escaped being taken captive, thanks mainly to the daring of his son Gavrail Radomir, who dragged him out of the battle. There followed the gruesome episode of the blinding of Samuil's warriors, save one in every hundred who had one eye left to him so as to lead them. Aghast at the cruel sight of his blinded soldiers who with difficulty had managed to make their way to his residence in Prespa, where he had retired after the battle at Belasitsa, Samuil had a stroke and died (on 6 October 1014). The exact date is given in a message of Bishop Michael of the city of Devol. Thus ended his days the Bulgarian ruler whose life was spent in ceaseless struggle in defense of the homeland and state, and under whose banners the entire Bulgarian nation fought. He concluded his life, leaving behind a lasting remembrance in the memory of generations.

"Samuil's death, grievous though it might be for the Bulgarian people, did not mean that they had now lost the power of resistance. The struggle continued under Samuil's successors--Gavrail Radomir and Ivan Vladislav. Efforts were made to seek allies against Byzantium; the destroyed fortresses were repaired. Among other things, as can be seen from Ivan Vladislav's inscription of 1015-1016, the fortress of the city of Bitolya, erected, as the inscription says, by order of the Bulgarian 'autocrat' and 'native Bulgarian' to 'protect and save the lives of Bulgarians,' was renovated at that time. New assaults on the part of Basil II, who later received the sobriquet of 'Bulgar Slayer' and new demonstrations of heroism, linked with the names of Krakra of Pernik, Fruzhin, Elemagus, and the voivode Ivatsa, characterize the last years of the First Bulgarian State's existence. Its forces, however, fell short and by 1018 the entire country was already under Byzantine rule. There ensued a long period of foreign rule that culminated with the uprising of the Bulgarian people under the leadership of Asen and Peter and the restoration of the Bulgarian state.

"Such is the course of events associated with the dramatic duel between Samuil and Basil II, described by the Byzantine chroniclers Scylitzes, Leo Diaconus, Zonaras and others, and also confirmed by our written and archeological records. Events which attest that during the Middle Ages the Bulgarian people were not only a creative people bringing forth eternal material and spiritual values, but also a fighter people, ready to sacrifice themselves on behalf of freedom. And today, nearly a millennium after these tragic, and at the same time magnificent moments of our distant past, we pay homage to the valor of Samuil and his warriors; we honor and eulogize their memory in the setting and under the conditions of our free and flourishing socialist homeland."

Comrade Todor Bozhinov then greeted the thousands of participants in the council and declared the Samuil's Fortress Memorial Complex open.



On the hill at the foot of Belasitsa there rises a 5-meter bronze figure of the legendary Bulgarian tsar Samuil, work of the sculptor, Honored Artist Boris Gondov. Outlined in bas relief are figures of Samuil's blinded warriors and scenes from the battles at the Gates of Trajan, Thessalonica and Larissa. Archeological artifacts from the time of Samuil are on exhibit in the museum. On the ridge of the hill there rises an architectural body of four concrete pillars with a panoramic platform, from which the entire Klyuch pass and the peaks of Belasitsa and Ograzhden can be seen.

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CPCZ WEEKLY ON DEVELOPMENT OF CENTRAL VILLAGES

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 42, 20 Oct 82 p 5

[Article by Oldrich Bilovsky: "Information on the Work of Central Villages"]

[Text] It follows from the conclusions of the 16th CPCZ Congress that we must strengthen the authority of the national committees in towns, central villages and housing developments. This task has stressed at the Sixth Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPCZ, which stressed the need for further democratization of public services, which must be brought closer to the people's needs.

This is a topical problem with which the legislative bodies have concerned themselves; both national councils have approved the so-called small amendment of the law, by which the law on national committees in central villages is amended and supplemented. It's enactment has taken effect in both republics.

A Brief Look

Socialist society has undergone and will undergo changes. "The ago-old backwardness of the countryside has disappeared forever," it was stated at the 16th CPCZ Congress. "Today's village is modern, cultured and attractive to young people and educated specialists." And the facts on this are obvious at first glance; it is enough to make us envious of one-time backward regions of Czechoslovakia. Yes, the differences between town and country are gone, and the poor areas of the past, which people used to leave, have changed beyond recognition. "It is currently becoming increasingly apparent," it was pointed out at the Sixth Plenum of the Central committee, "that, considering the historically arisen large number of settlements in Czechoslovakia, it is not possible for economic reasons and from the standpoint of optimal utilization, for all townships to be provided with schools, medical, cultural and other facilities.

It is, for example, paradoxical that the numbers of places in day-care centers in some districts exceeds the number required, but we must continue to build

them, since while in some, usually smaller, villages these centers are underutilized, in other places requirements are not entirely satisfied. The situation is similar as concerns cultural centers, networks of retail stores, etc. Therefore, in the most recent period residential and public construction has been concentrated in central villages. This has been the only possible solution. And this is why the number of inhabitants in the smallest villages is decreasing--people of working age are leaving for central villages and for towns.

In the most recent period, following a worldwide trend, but primarily as a direct reaction to objectively arisen conditions, there has been integration of national committees and central villages have gradually been built up. This process has been completed by the above so-called small amendment to the law on national committees.

### The First Step

In Southern Moravia, on the basis of Law No 49/1982 of the Czech National Republic, broader authority is being exercised by the 61 national committees. The largest number--11--of these is located in the Uhersko Hradiste District. "Over one-third of the district's population lives in places which have been approved as central villages," we learn from the secretary of the ONV [District National Committee] in Uhersko Hradiste, Frantisek Marvan. "This is a logical development and the result of integration of national committees." He mentions that this process was underway in Uhersko Hradiste in the sixties but reached its greatest extent in the seventies. In the course of this process, the number of national committees was decreased; now there are only 46 in the district. "We have oriented the process, and since 1980 there has been a group in the ONV which deals with issues from the work of consolidated townships," adds the chief of the organizational division of the ONV, Cyril Barinka.

Thus was created the foundation for the construction of national committees in central villages. This was a natural development, with a decline in the number of inhabitants of the smallest villages in Uhersko Hradiste. Cyril Barinka gives us more precise information: "Based on the results of the latest census of people, houses and apartments, in 1980 nearly 35 percent of the entire population of the district lived in five towns or villages."

The first stage in building up the central villages consisted in the integration of the national committees. But this was not and cannot be the ultimate solution; it is only the first step. "Consolidation was carried out only where conditions for it had been created," Cyril Barinka tells us. "We consider it a means for bringing the law on federal public services closer to the people, and at the same time for creating the conditions for intensive development of territorial districts."

These words are logical, but to ensure intensive and, at the same time, comprehensive economic and social development of territorial districts, to raise the quality of federal public services, is not a simple task. This task cannot be fulfilled in the space of 1 day. It is, on the contrary, a



process. It is important to grasp the complexity of the tasks, to endorse the party line, to enforce it quite consistently, to progress from the simple to the complex, not skipping stages. The secretary of the ONV, Frantisek Marvan tells us: "Broadening of the authority of the national committees in central villages is only one further step. We consider it a starting point in the process of gradually making these places a basis for providing and granting services needed by society and those of value to the entire district involved, a basis for the further development of social and cultural life."

#### Not Only Authority...

The passage of the so-called small amendment on national committees has created the legal, material and other preconditions for the organs of federal authority and public service in central villages to provide improved services, to better fulfill the people's needs, and to work on and put into practice the comprehensive development of the territorial district at a higher level and in cooperation with other partners. "They are taking over a part of the agendas formerly the concern of ONCs and the pertinent part of their apparatus," stated Comrade Jindrich Polednik, secretary of the CPCZ Center Committee, at its Sixth Plenum.

In the Uhersko Hradiste District, starting 1 July of this year, the 11 national committees have greater authority--both greater rights and greater responsibility. But this is not all. The conditions under which they operate have changed and a new situation has been created. And this must be taken into account, methods must be changed, adequate forms of work must be chosen--we must change over from quantity to quality of activity and operation, from extensive development to intensive, increasing the role of elective organs, etc. But requirements cannot be fulfilled in an instant, overnight. "Conditions have been created gradually: while the national committees were being integrated the foundations were being laid for the idea of central villages. Before the Czech National Council approved the so-called small amendment, we weighed the pros and cons, evaluated the situation, analyzed the results, gradually strengthening the basic link of organs of federal authority and public service," Cyril Barinka tells us. In the most recent period town and local national committees were strengthened by [the addition of] 19 people; Buchlovice, for example, received as its chief of the office of construction Ladislav Horak, who served on the committee for construction and territorial planning of the ONV. "While earlier a citizen, before he could obtain a building permit, had to make the rounds of various institutions, from health to water commissions, losing a great deal of time, now this is all taken care of by the office of construction in our township," adds chairman Jaroslav Kocenda of the MNV [local national committee] in Buchlovice, a central village in whose territorial district live more than 3,500 inhabitants.

Yet the reason for building central villages is primarily to achieve better results, to do more efficient and better quality work. "We have been successful in affecting the plans of organs of the national committees in

central villages in such a way that, for example, at a plenum the basic tasks of development of the territorial district were discussed, and representatives at this forum worked on the prosperity of services, residential and public construction, the improvement of the environment, people's problems and concerns, what they consider to be important and decisive," Cyril Barinka tells us. Then he summarizes: in almost all central villages there are offices of construction, public service commissions, and citizens' committees. But he points out that the quantitative and material side of things has come to the fore. "Some representatives, in this district almost 20 percent, are relatively inactive, plenary, council and committee meetings are not at the level called for by the situation, and there are problems in the work of many citizens' committees," asserts the secretary of the ONV, Frantisek Marvan. "To eliminate imperfections requires that we pay constant attention to the central villages, make good use of reserves, and work more effectively."

Building up central villages is a process which has its own regularities. In the course of building, we must improve the quality of what exists but at the same time engage in a struggle between old and new, waging a difficult battle to assert the line of strategy of the 16th CPCZ Congress and the conclusions of the Sixth Plenum of the Central Committee and, in order for the goals which we have set to be realized, they must be widely publicized among our citizens. To be sure, the sense of all these measures is to bring the administration of public affairs closer to the people, to improve the conditions of their life and work. And in this process communists, representatives officials of organizations joined together in the NF [National Front], and agitators are fulfilling and must continue to fulfill their tasks, in which they cannot be replaced. Explaining to the people the sense and purpose of modifications in the functioning of the national committees in central villages and obtaining their active support of the measures which have been adopted are among these tasks. But in order for the central villages to gradually become actual centers of life and work for the people, this is where regional and district national committees must create the conditions. By the way, and this is confirmed also by experience which we have gained, legal norms, in this case the so-called small amendment on national committees, create only the necessary legal, material and other conditions. To bring these to life, to apply the principles in territorial districts, is primarily the concern of the people--communists, officials and representatives of national committees, and citizens.

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## FEAR OF POLISH PRECEDENT DEEPENS ECONOMIC STAGNATION

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 16 Oct 82 p 3

[Text] R. St. Prague, October--Ten months after the imposition of martial law, 2 years after the founding of the recently dissolved independent trade union, Solidarity, the Polish phenomenon still weighs heavily on Czechoslovakia's policy. Nevertheless the continual warnings to the fraternal party have been dropped and leading Czechoslovak politicians appear to be satisfied with the policy of General Jaruzelski. Still, the developments in the northern neighbor have on the one hand made the leadership in Prague's Hradchin uncertain and on the other hand strengthened the view that any economic or social-political experiment contains a moment of danger that cannot be assessed and is therefore undesirable.

## Declining Work Morale, Worsened Consumer Supply

The hard-currency debts, in Prague's view, have brought Poland to a strong dependency on the West. Although the Czechoslovaks are rated as good credit risks, they refused last year on that account to buy fodder in the West on credit. As a result emergency slaughtering became necessary; meat shortages were avoided last spring by massive price increases. To the statement of a high official that the decision of the government was approved by the people, one would like to add a question mark. The vague projects for economic liberalization and for the encouragement of private initiatives among peasants and artisans remain in the files; in 1968 officials saw that the call for political reforms follows these initiatives and in the experience of Poland see that a party that loosens the reins finally, falls into an identity crisis. On the basis of the experience in Poland the influence of the Catholic Church is again judged particularly dangerous; we will address its situation in a separate article.

Nevertheless Polish conditions could come about in Czechoslovakia, even if in altered form, for quite different reasons. A citizen there who is concerned about the economic situation of his country suddenly asks how it looked in Poland before 1980. In his observation, work morale and work performance have been sinking in Czechoslovakia from year to year with people becoming steadily more unfriendly. Finally the reliability of deliveries of materiel has been constantly declining. There are increasing occurrences of construction workers standing idle without cement. In the area of consumer goods of daily life there are bottlenecks in milk and milk production

as well as in sugar. The fact that a persistent late summer and fall brought a good fruit and vegetable harvest leads one to overlook the fact that cheap meat is practically speaking no longer available, and the better-quality cuts are almost beyond price. The supply of articles not absolutely necessary to life has worsened; yet one can still wonder whether, for example, a coal shovel is not a necessity in a country where coal heating predominates and small weekend cottages are widely owned. Although the government asserts the opposite, the buying power of the krone has sunk in the opinion of the people and the business of the foreign exchange shops has climbed. Foreign tourists in restaurants pay their bills more frequently in foreign currency than before, without the waiter sweating with fear over it.

#### Pensions for Graduates of Higher Schools

Even more serious seems the complaint of a budding electrical engineer. The young man is studying computer sciences but sees little chance of finding a job appropriate to his education when finished in a year because, he says, with the present standard of computer technology in his country most of the work can be mastered by training ordinary workers. For some professions Slovakia is offering graduates of higher schools a monthly pension of 800 krone instead of a job. As soon as they have a job, they must repay the money that they received from the state.

#### Stability and Immobility

The astonishing stability of the political establishment, which externally appeared to be ideologically strict, is leading the country further into stagnation. In the Politburo, which for more than a dozen years has met with a practically unaltered membership, the balance between dogmatists and pragmatists is so fine that new ideas as a rule do not get underway because their introduction would disturb the balance. Experts on the political scene in Prague no longer want to associate dogmatists and pragmatists with particular names. Prime Minister Strougal, they say, listens with interest to the situation analyses of Western politicians and economic experts and is aware of the inadequate efficiency of the Czechoslovak economy but also does not want to give it any stimulus. The industry of Czechoslovakia suffers from the obsolescence of its equipment; money for new investment is lacking. From 1980 to 1981 Czechoslovakia turned a trade deficit of 1.3 billion krone into a surplus of 1.4 billion krone. The import restrictions with regard to the hard-currency countries continued this year as well cannot be extended at will, however. Whether the increased concentration on trade within CMECON is the correct way to stimulate industry is disputed in the party leadership as well. The fact that the Credit Commercial de France is the first Western bank to be permitted to open an office in Prague shows that they do not want to burn any bridges but no one regards this as an indication of any significant revival of trade with France. The sum of all diverging opinions leads to immobility here as well.

## The Private Sector Stepchild

The revival of a private service sector, which could unleash hidden, dormant energies, is not moving forward. The situation is somewhat better in part with regard to the revival of the peasant fruit businesses. Nevertheless, in a roughly 1,000-kilometer trip through the country we saw all of two peasants selling fruit by the roadside. The Central Committee secretary, Pitra, recently criticized the modest scope of these branches of trade. Obviously there are differences of opinion in the party leadership whether such activity is desirable. All the same, early next year a law on private service enterprises will go into effect.

Party chief Husak and his Politburo have bestowed "normalization" upon Czechoslovakia under severe restriction of individual rights. One gets the impression these days that this policy is slowly ending. Of course this process has nothing to do with events in Poland or only to the extent that here as well as there the suppression of individual and collective liberties were the beginning of the difficulties.

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CSO: 2300/27

NOTED PROFESSOR INTERVIEWED ON NATURE OF POWER IN POLAND

Warsaw RAZEM in Polish No 27, 24 Oct 82 pp 4, 5

[Report on interview with Prof. Jerzy J. Wiatr, by correspondent Zdzisław Zaryczny: "Do We Have a Strong Government?"; date and place not specified. "Polish Truths"]

[Text] [Question] Professor, do we have a strong government in Poland today? Under martial law conditions this is perhaps a paradoxical question--after all, the government in reality possesses practically a monopoly in the initiation of changes. No social group can achieve its goals without the approval of government sources. And so--we have a strong government, is that not so?

[Answer] We do not have a strong government in Poland today, in the manner of understanding it which I frequently use. For example, I wrote in POLITYKA even in 1979, referring to Konstanty Grzybowski and his thoughts regarding a strong government: "The criterion of a government's strength is not the concentration of all-important and semi-important decisions in one hand, in one center. On the contrary, a strong government knows how to concentrate on central issues crucial to a situation taken as a whole; whereas it unhesitatingly turns over all others to lower divisions, permitting them to act efficiently and independently."

I further emphasize that, "the criterion of government strength is not the increase in orders and prohibitions either. In social life orders and prohibitions are indispensable, but a strong government uses them with moderation. With moderation but also with consistency." The outstanding difficulty with our present situation stems not so much from the fact that the state relies upon a large number of orders and prohibitions, characteristic of martial law, but from the fact that it must rely upon them; inasmuch as the government is too weak to function well.

[Question] Are we to understand from this also that Poles were and are a difficult people to govern?

[Answer] This is a certain reflective stereotype which actually means that Poles are ill disposed toward any government, their own or foreign. In light of historical data, it is not, however, an irrefutable truth. For example, during the occupation, Poles displayed astounding civic discipline with respect to the government of underground Poland, and this under circumstances

where it had very limited means of enforcing measures.

And so, one cannot generalize that Poles are difficult to govern in every instance. On the other hand, it is true that they become difficult when they are governed badly. History often demonstrated that there exists in our society a considerable willingness to oppose a type of government which is objectionable, which is not acceptable. There are societies in which every government with better or worse performance, which by virtue of its existence as a government enjoys obedience. We are not that type of society. Simply, the demands which we make on our rulers are higher.

[Question] Higher, but later fairly judged?

[Answer] Not always. Poles often proved to be unfair towards those who governed them with good intentions and sensibly.

For example, after December 1970, the way not only the leading circles but also a large segment of society treated Wladyslaw Gomulka. I hesitate to state that there were no reasons to criticize his leadership, but criticism is something other than the condemnation of someone who with great ideology, honesty, and no small successes led Poland for many years.

Hence, I imagine there is something like this in our tradition which generates the conviction among many politicians, that as a nation we are unfair towards them. This is the source of very dangerous and unfavorable attitudes of rulers to whom Aleksander Wielopolski has attributed: "We can sometimes do something for Poles but never with Poles." It is an unfair appraisal but it expresses the bitterness of the politician, who again in any nation would go down in a history completely different from that which is current and which is "inhaled" in Polish political culture.

[Question] A trace of this tradition can be found in the specific discrediting of Polish crises and the political destruction of steering committees which, once they have lost, leave the public scene forever. What is the source of this self-annihilation of our governing elite?

[Answer] This is less related to the crises themselves, but more so to the structure of political life, which at least until recently left no place for anyone who dropped out of the steering body. Until recently, because we already have the type of situation in Poland in which those who once occupied high positions appear in public, although in more modest roles. But such a situation would only be ideal where a frequently and fairly stipulated rotation would not indicate that those quitting fall into anonymity, only that they remain on the political scene. This would be an important defensive device against annihilation of steering committees.

We do not yet always understand and appreciate the fact that talented politicians are as valuable a social capital as, for example, talented physicians or musicians. It is, therefore, necessary to economize on these people and not squander this capital, because it is not unlimited. Every nation, during a

given historic moment, has only a certain number of people with outstanding competence. And, therefore, it is a matter of prime importance--primarily for the common good--that this potential be most beneficially pursued.

[Question] Why are these issues so seldom openly mentioned? Why are the dilemmas of rulers most often foreign to those governed?

[Answer] It is necessary here to distinguish the present situation from that of the past. All prior crises were crises that were limited to steering groups and did not involve the masses. October 1956 was an exception but only to a certain degree. I do not have in mind here of course, the eruptions of the February riot in Poznan in June 1956, nor in Wybrzeze in December 1970. I am concerned about political activities aimed at solving the crisis and not about the demonstration of social anger itself. The fact that our past policy was to a great extent the policy of the closed elite, from whence only very abridged prepared news filtered through, had to make society feel not only isolated but also uninformed. This has changed very distinctly in the course of the past 2 years.

For the 1981 policy was a policy of mass social movements. Obviously steering groups existed in each of these movements, both in the party as well as in "Solidarity," but they functioned in the context of an activated mass movement taken as a whole.

The extent to which alienation of government in the more distant past was caused by the closed process of decision making by the narrow steering elite, it is now necessary to the same extent to find another explanation for the situation of the past 2 years.

I am convinced it lies in the present psychological state of Polish society. It does not depend on the fact that society is uninformed, that it does not know that the actual state is concealed from it. It is something else, a mechanism, which the American psychologist Festinger described as cognitive dissonance: when certain information clashes with our own intensely experienced emotions, we do not accept this information. Therefore, a frustrated society does not accept certain information, not because it does not possess it, but because it sets into motion a specific emotional obstruction. However, I emphasize--the essential cause of this state of affairs lies in the fact that this is a society which is seriously hurting psychologically.

[Question] And perhaps simply resentful? After all, it is not accidental that the post-August period was marked by a developed feeling of national and community pride on the part of every citizen.

[Answer] Of course, in some sense it is certainly so. A large segment of society which survived the euphoria of 1981 had to feel very hurt by the fact that physical force was used against it. Or was the introduction of martial law something else?

Martial law was, however, inevitable if Poland was to be rescued in a situation when so many people, overcome with emotion and incapable of rational evaluation,



were engaged in activities which if not restrained would lead to catastrophe and who knows, if not to tragic international conflict as a consequence.

It is still necessary here to remember the leadership. And so up to 13 December, the leadership of "Solidarity" maintained that the government is a colossus with legs of clay, that it will be in no condition to do anything. The invincibility of the union movement prevailed. And so, not only the use of force but likewise the great ease by which this force succeeded, revealing the disproportion between promises and reality, in effect delivered such a powerful blow to the personal pride of those who were engaged in this movement, believing in its indomitable strength.

Prof. Janusz Reykowski in his "Basic Dilemma" pointed out that "Solidarity" was regarded as a moral movement, an embodiment of ideas; something to which other criteria can be related rather than that normally accepted in an evaluation of movements and political institutions. Consequently, confrontation with reality had to provoke violent, emotional resistance in that segment of society which was experiencing a state of euphoria. It is necessary to see this. The politician who would not wish to take into consideration the psychological condition of our society at the present moment would be a very poor politician.

[Question] Since that is so, then perhaps one can actually expect the government to extend a hand and initial steps in the direction of reform and reconciliation with society?

[Answer] In a highly centralized system, initiative for reform will remain only as an idea, unless it gains national direction. However, I visualize a very real problem elsewhere--what is happening when the stimulus toward reform, which at the moment is in its initial stage, meets enormous difficulties? Is reform to be implemented by the government with the passive attitude of society? If so, then we can tell ourselves immediately that reform will come to naught.

Hence, I distinguish impulse, initiative; the creation of legislative frameworks from activities which must be broad in order for reform to succeed. This does not only entail changes of an economic character but also political. In conjunction with this, these changes should not be changes in only this or another institution, but a change in the climate of governing; in other words--an expansion of the network of forces jointly controlling the country.

Thus far, however, the efforts for national understanding, not only those from before, but likewise those after 13 December, have brought less results than anticipated. After all, we cannot delude ourselves that the vast majority of our society was already engaged in building the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON], or other forms of activity aimed at creating the framework of understanding.

[Question] What positions does one encounter mostly in this sphere?

[Answer] Currently, one can generally observe one of two positions. The first, not devoid of reason, depends on a scrupulous analysis of the method of functioning of government initiators in the building of understanding: do they not make mistakes which result in less strength, attracting fewer people to this movement? I think that this is a reasonable point of view. Certainly it would be absurd to maintain that this time we have a government that makes no mistakes.

The second position is dealt with less frequently. It is to be found in the answer to these questions: which social groups, organized or not organized units enjoying authority hastened with their offers to enter this movement? Who came and who was rejected? Who had the door slammed on him? Are there such groups, such people, who came and were barred from the movement? However, because national understanding does not lie exclusively in the interest of the government but of all Poland, its construction, therefore, should take place as a result of various initiatives. Permit these initiatives to maintain contact; permit certain types of debate based on a common denominator to go on between them to enhance the desire to reach this understanding. Then it is easier to negotiate a specific formula which will reflect the understanding of the people who must understand each other. And hence, not those who are already in agreement among themselves. This is not the issue. It is a matter of bickering, of understanding within the framework of diversity, of controversial positions, of groups and units; but standing on the base of constitutional order; a socialist form of government and--what is vastly significant-- recognition of the immovable position of Poland in the alliance of socialist countries.

I would place much greater emphasis on the fact that everything points to the approach of hard times, not only in the economy but in world politics. The international climate is bad, the worst in 20 years. Under these conditions, a country of medium size located in the very center of Europe, in addition to being tormented by internal crisis, is in great need of unfailing support.

Then we need an alliance! Then Poland needs alliance with the Soviet Union as a guarantee of safety and, therefore, recognition of this alliance; rejection of all that could sabotage it must be a fundamental condition for understanding. Whoever does not understand this should take a long vacation from political activities.

[Question] Which social reactions have a tendency to grow today: acceptance, apathy, refusal? What influences it?

[Answer] You forgot a very essential position--passivity. It is not the same as apathy. I know numerous people who are not at all apathetic but do not accept the government's policy, nor likewise--do not reject it. Their motto is: we shall see what results from this; we have been burned so many times, hence let us now wait.

This is the silent majority which waits and desires to assess the government. I think that to assess positively, in contrast to those who assume in advance--

that the government is worthless regardless of what it did. This majority has within itself the positive disposition to accept government policy and the formula for understanding, but it must be convinced to the end.

[Question] Could government policy in any way program and hasten this process?

[Answer] It could. To a certain degree. The most simple but also the most demagogic answer would sound like this: Let the government conduct a good policy, and then those passivists will become its active followers. Yes, only it is not that simple. Results of economic actions will come only after years. The economic situation is tragically difficult and the effects here cannot be immediate. No government in Poland, in let us say half a year, can bring about the introduction of noticeable progress capable of changing social moods.

An equally essential, objective circumstance is the psychological state of our society, exceptionally distrustful. It will be necessary to convince it significantly with more obvious arguments than ever before in the past. Therefore, of even greater significance today are the sensible endeavors which should be supported by at least two principles:

First--no renouncement of any move which could increase the capital of confidence and acceptance of the government. These are often small matters and not large moves which the whole world immediately talks about. Of course confidence will also be the consequence of the number of interested persons who become culturally and rapidly settled in office. But this does not depend on the premier.

Secondly--do not harm. Refrain from doing anything that would repel those in waiting. Especially menacing are mistakes typical of those which were committed in the past. For example, I see many indications where the officials of some sectors of government treated martial law as an occasion to take revenge. Not all, and I would not like to generalize here, but there are quite a number of facts indicating a return of governmental arrogance, of retaliation, despite the unequivocal declarations of Gen. Jaruzelski.

An additionally dangerous situation is created by the occurrence of street encounters, where the logic of battle takes place and where it is easy to harm someone innocent, is followed by the definite reactions of many people. It would be Utopian to dream that under conditions of severe turmoil all will escape unscathed. But it is not Utopian to most certainly insist that everything possible be done to reduce to a minimum negative manifestations of this type. This is extremely important for the climate in which government functions.

[Question] Let's dot the "i." Do you think that the development of the situation leads to an increasingly acute polarization of society and also to the smearing of sectors?

[Answer] Total polarization would be dependent on the fact that the government with its followers would be on one side with the opposition on the other. And nothing in the middle.

[Question] Are we headed in that direction?"

[Answer] In my opinion--no. Slowly, even too slowly, we are heading in another direction. If we compare the situation of 14 December 1981 with today, then the polarization is not more but less. There is expansion of the field occupied by those who are neither at one or the other pole. It is because they are either apathetic or passive--inclined to take a stand, but not yet today.

Extremists do exist and will continue to exist for a long time. It must be realized that centers, groups not only extremely opposed to the government but to the socialist system will not vanish from our lives. Reality requires an awareness of the fact that this is a phenomenon that must be reckoned with in terms of years and not months.

However, the situation is very likely such that the evolution of the power structure will gradually adapt itself to a course of attracting acceptance by the extremist--by the national authorities, the party and allied parties of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth. This will be a prolonged and slow process. I would not deceive either myself or others that there is a possible timetable, a time schedule here. Simply, this will be the consequence of changes for the better in the country's situation and of gradual recovery from psychological shock.

[Question] However, is time surely on the side of acceptance by the extremist?

[Answer] Time of itself is not on the side of anyone. It can be utilized, it can be wasted. The policy of Gen. Jaruzelski's government requires time, because it is a policy of gradual reforms, changes, which are to accumulate, bringing desired results over a definite period. This is not a policy of spectacular moves, all the same, in a direction that would immediately lead to a crisis. To be sure, a year ago, it appeared that such a move existed.

[Question] Will Jaruzelski, Glempl, Walesa meet?

[Answer] Yes, although it is known that through no fault of the government or the church, no understanding has been reached in the meantime. But that is the past. Today no similar possibility can be seen. The only sensible policy is hence, one of gradual change. In this sense, the statement that time is on the side of this policy is correct.

[Question] Under the condition that it will be time actually utilized effectively?

[Answer] If it were otherwise, it could even work negatively. For example, it could be the source of the question: What have you done during this period of time; where are the results? We are approaching the anniversary of the introduction of martial law and soon we shall all be asking ourselves questions about the outcome of this period. Certainly there will be great differences of opinions.

I am consciously convinced that not all opportunities were taken advantage of and not all dangers averted--however, it is necessary to recognize that outcome,

summarily, as positive. For the martial law period brought Poland relative stabilization, both internal and economic. It initiated economic reform and moves serving the formation of a climate for understanding, although it is a self-evident fact that one could likewise add a list of adversities and mistakes to each of these points.

[Question] Does the present political make-up as characterized by the existence and work of various structures--Military Council for National Salvation [WRON], the government, party and political parties internally bear the seeds of future changes in these structures? In which direction will changes in the system of national government go?

[Answer] Certainly it will be necessary to ponder calmly the form of the national government as an institution which arose in our midst 30 years ago, and in principle remains unchanged since the adoption of the July Constitution. There are various concepts; for example, the Democratic Party already last year proposed the introduction of the office of president of Polish People's Republic [PRL]. As I understand, this proposition is not concerned with a name change or a departure from the collective body represented by the National Council, as much as with the establishment of a presidency with significant powers. A matter worthy of discussion. There are also other issues: for example, a change in the electoral law, or the enrichment of legislative process with the institution of the referendum.

Yes, as we caught a glimpse of the economic reform, we also surely caught a glimpse of the reform of political institutions. However, it requires that decisions be preceded by careful research and analyses of possible consequences. I do not say this, by any means, from a conservative position. I was and am a follower of one and the other reform. But certainly as their follower, I know well that the introduction of hasty changes, not thoroughly considered, is very detrimental to reforms. They compromise and often bury all possibilities of reform for entire years. Hence, there is a need for reflection, patience and time. Time, however, not excessively long and wisely filled.

Professor, thank you for the interview.

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CSO: 2600/78

COVERAGE OF ACTIVITY PRIOR TO NEW ACADEMIC YEAR NOTED

Facts and Figures

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 27 Sep 82 pp 1, 2

[Unattributed article: "Before the First Lecture: More Places Than Accepted for Studies--The "Invasion" of Humanistic Directions Continues--Repairs and Investments--Executory Acts for the New Law"]

[Text] [Polish Press] [Our own information] In 87 educational institutions throughout Poland more than 400,000 students soon will be starting a new academic year. Nearly 59,000 young people will hear their first lecture. For, among 77,000 candidates, this many students did well on their entrance examinations and will receive result books.

The university presidents will set the precise dates for the beginning of the academic year in particular schools, but we already know that studies have to begin everywhere by 10 October.

We have addressed our questions on the course of this year's school enrollment and on innovations in the academic year just beginning to the Ministry of Science, Higher Education and Technology.

Enrollment

In practice, the number of openings in the lower grades has decreased in all institutions this year, but the competition for entrance examinations also has fallen off everywhere. In general, there were 169 candidates per 100 places, one candidate less than last year. The greatest success was enjoyed by the universities (nearly two candidates for each opening), the higher pedagogical schools, and the agricultural academies. The economic academies had the fewest candidates--the same number as the places which the schools had available.

Iberian studies (more than six candidates for each opening), Italian studies, art history, preservation of art works, Oriental philology, fine arts education, and psychology truly experienced a "siege."

On the other hand, many fewer youth than planned new openings applied for difficult technical courses--metallurgy, product determination, physics, economic cybernetics, or planning of the national economy.

In general, examinations for technical institutions turned out very badly. A total of 1,290 candidates less than was planned were accepted for these examinations. Moreover, during the July recruitment there were candidates for all the available places only in the agricultural schools. The universities, higher pedagogical schools, and economic academies all complained this year--unfortunately, even more than previously--of the inadequate preparation of middle school graduates.

The greatest popularity among the educational institutions was enjoyed by: Warsaw University, the higher pedagogical schools in Olsztyn, Kielce, and Bydgoszcz, and the agricultural academies in Wroclaw and Lublin. But we cannot speak of an exceptionally great siege of any institution. Today those embarking on studies are governed less by a school's reputation and more by economic considerations--studying outside the home costs too much. This year fewer working class and peasant youth than usual embarked on studies--42.2 percent of the total number of candidates, only 8.9 percent of whom came from peasant families.

#### Investments and Repairs

Unfortunately, it was necessary to limit investments considerably. Twenty of them were discontinued. At the present time investments that had been started are being continued, and in discontinued buildings under construction jobs are being secured, for which the Ministry of Science, Higher Education and Technology obtained another 247 million zlotys from the state budget.

Work is continuing at 113 installations, but it is hard to hope for quick results. This year only four new student dormitories and one teacher's residence with a combined capacity for 1,716 residents will be put to use.

As long as there has been too little money for new investments, no institution has asked the Ministry of Science, Higher Education and Technology for additional assets for repairs. It is, in truth, unknown what this means: whether it means that repairs are proceeding as needed or whether the exact opposite is happening, or that institutions are having difficulties disbursing the money they have obtained. The second possibility is very probable, since one hears complaints from all sides about the lack of indispensable materials and the difficulties of finding executors.

The Ministry of Science, Higher Education and Technology will be able to impart specific information on the course of the summer repairs only in November, when ministry employees return from their traditional annual reconnaissance. Already today, however, we can hope that repairs will last into the academic year.

## New Legal Acts

Beginning on 1 October 1982 a new law on higher education becomes binding. But we will not be able to speak about its full force until all the executory acts have been elaborated. For the time being three decrees are ready: one on the remuneration for academic teachers, one on the remuneration for other institutional employees, and one on the new stipend system. Work on principles of economics and school financing and regulations concerning the professional status of accredited librarians is in its advanced stages.

In the Ministry of Science, Higher Education and Technology they also are preparing specific regulations concerning the procedure for establishing, registering, and dissolving student organizations and associations, regulations concerning the area of entrance examinations, and, jointly with the Ministry of Education and Upbringing, principles for organizing free forms of assistance for preparing candidates for studies, as well as several other legal acts. Most of them require consultation with the Main Council on Higher Education, which will be constituted in its new form only in October.

Work on the statutes began in the institutions as early as September, however. The presidents created statute commissions for this purpose. Conferences of the presidents of various types of institutions now are being held to deal with this issue, among others. But these meetings serve primarily as consultations on the new system of material assistance for students. For the date for implementing these principles has changed again. They will be binding in all institutions beginning on 1 November 1982. Thus, all the schools have the same number of months to prepare for this significant reform.

And thus, in the new academic year there will be many innovations, much work, and, continually, many difficulties.

### Higher Education Minister Interview

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 30 Sep 82 pp 1, 6

[Interview with Professor Benon Miskiewicz, minister of science, higher education and technology, by Polish Press Agency correspondent Tadeusz Belerski: "A New Law and the Academic Environment; Student Benefits; Before the New Academic Year"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] [Polish Press] On 1 October a new academic year begins. In 87 institutions throughout Poland classes will begin for more than 400,000 students, among them nearly 50,000 young people attending university lectures for the first time.

In connection with the new academic year, a Polish Press Agency correspondent is interviewing the Minister of Science, Higher Education and Technology, Professor Benon Miskiewicz.



[Question] Today the problem of autonomy in the activities of the higher schools is causing the most controversy: have some changes taken place recently in the area of autonomy in educational institutions?

[Answer] The problem of autonomy for the higher schools is one which has troubled the academic environments for many years. When we look back, we can state that in the last 10-year period changes have taken place in the area of granting institutions defined powers.

During the 1980-1981 academic year it turned out that autonomy in the higher schools was not always understood properly. Sometimes it came to introducing far ranging anomalies in the life of the institution in the name of autonomy. This has been expressed even by the fact that there has been an attempt to keep the professors and docents from making basic decisions in the higher schools. Attempts have been made to change the proportions of the share in the Senate or on faculty councils of other academic employees and students. At the same time, however, the academic environments in this period endeavored to shape the autonomy of the schools. The Ministry of Science, Higher Education and Technology created a social commission to prepare a new law on the higher schools. This law, together with the observations and reservations of the government, was sent to the Sejm as early as November 1981. The period of martial law did not stop work on this law. Quite the opposite--intensive work began in the Sejm commissions. On 4 May 1982 the law on higher education finally was approved. It seems to me clearly necessary to emphasize that this law's passage is an expression of the great confidence of the state authorities in the academic environment. The law not only does not cancel the autonomy of the higher schools but, quite the contrary, deepens and broadens it.

[Question] How was the passage of the law received in the academic environment?

[Answer] Some people were surprised that such a law could be passed under conditions of martial law. I believe that it is precisely this circumstance that should be emphasized today as an expression of the faith of the authorities in relation to the promises given to the academic environment.

In connection with the fact that we have no possibility of enacting all the executory acts, and there are more than 40 of them, we still cannot ratify the statutes of the higher schools. But we will try to do so as quickly as possible, thereby creating the formal legal bases for the autonomy of the institutions. For, in accordance with the provision of the law, each act must be evaluated by the Main Council of the Ministry of Science, Higher Education and Technology before it is enacted. We have to wait for this body to be created and constituted and for work to begin.

Enacting the law on higher education, the Sejm had in mind the functioning of our state under conditions of harmonious economic and sociopolitical development. At the present time, the conflicts in our life which still are being revealed have required that provisions be introduced into the law which would guarantee the functioning of the higher schools during martial law and the maintenance of social discipline in them.

But I would like to emphasize that what determines the actions of the authorities in the area of institutions' autonomy is primarily the law on the higher schools, which the authorities intend to give the fullest possible implementation.

[Question] How has work aimed at preparing for the new academic year been progressing?

[Answer] We established that it would be good if each institution devoted its inauguration to its own internal life, to reflection on the main directions of its work, and if each institution defined its didactic, and in particular its upbringing, activities.

As for the ministerial activities connected with preparation for the new year, they have taken various directions. Primarily it has been a matter of eliminating specific barriers in the sphere of awareness as well as material barriers. I already referred in part to this first type of barrier when I spoke of the aspiration to autonomy and the trustworthiness of the authorities' provisions in this very area; for the law is the best proof of this.

When it comes to material issues, through the great efforts of the state, wage regulations have been introduced for those who not only are conducting research but also are teaching and educating.

Our subsequent actions were aimed at the broadest possible inclusion of academic environments, primarily professors and docents, in all-state activities. There is a deep conviction among the highest authorities that it is these very environments which, on account of their intellectual values and profound knowledge, can give much to our state in the present situation. Hence, professors and docents frequently are invited to various commissions of experts to give their opinion on various activities, etc.

Prior to the new academic year we decided very controversial issues in the academic environment, namely, benefits aiding student education. Until now the view prevailed that primarily the state should lay out funds for instruction in the higher schools. We support this view, while applying it to the present situation in Poland. We believe that today it is necessary to distribute the burden of these benefits appropriately, to place it not only on the state, which continues to accept the greatest proportion, but also on students' parents and on the students themselves.

Thus, we have introduced a social stipend which primarily covers the minimal needs of the students in the area of room and board, and, moreover, we have introduced a credit stipend which permits a young person to obtain assets for still other purposes. If he uses this latter credit, upon completing his studies he will be obliged to repay the protracted credit to the state. This system also is adaptable to generally accepted social policy: it is a matter of having the neediest receive the most from the state. The system possesses one more value--an

educational value, which gives preference primarily to those who do well in their studies. For every student who completes his studies with honorable mention or a very good evaluation gains the right to amortize the protracted credit entirely and, if he completes his studies with a good evaluation, to amortize 75 percent of the credit. The stipend system provides for the possibility of profiting from the benefits only upon the final completion of studies.

[Question] Which important problems has the Ministry of Science, Higher Education and Technology been involved in resolving at the present time?

[Answer] We have a very sophisticated analysis of the current state of the distribution of higher schools in Poland, their organizational units, their consultation points, and their branch offices. We are eager to be able to obtain a clear picture of the general needs of the country as well as the needs of the specific regions in this respect. Based on this identification as well as the particular culture-producing needs in defined environments and regions, we would like to propose a revision of the distribution of the higher schools, and perhaps also a diminution of their number.

We are carrying out activities aimed at raising and equalizing the quality of teaching in educational institutions. This is closely connected with the analysis of the network of higher schools in Poland. For we are aware of the unequal level of instruction in various types of schools. Thus, we will be striving to make certain corrections and, in justified cases, to suspend enrollment in courses of study where the educational cadre is not suitable.

Another direction of our activities covers issues connected with scholarly research. It is a truism that a higher school deprived of a research component stops being a higher school. Hence, research is essential in educational institutions. However, we think it would be necessary to direct the closest attention to the elaboration of specific ways of interesting schools in what particular employees are doing in the field of scientific research. We have comparatively tight control over the so-called sphere of centrally coordinated research. But in the area of research being conducted at individual institutions we do not always know what is being researched, whether the work is purposeful, and whether the effort and means spent on research are utilized properly. Consequently, we are proposing to the institutions that they carry out evaluations of their own research using several criteria. The first criterion is the usefulness of the research for the development of science itself; the next criterion is the manner in which the research can be or is useful in meeting the most pressing needs of the economy and the culture; and the last criterion is the extent to which the higher schools' research components are involved in meeting didactic-educational needs. For we have been having constant difficulties with, among other things, the lack of textbooks, mimeographed lectures, etc.

Our ministry also is striving to elaborate a new model for teacher education in Poland. We have taken up this subject jointly with the Ministry of Education and Upbringing. We consider it particularly important today, when the main burden of raising the young generation in the spirit of the ideals of socialism and devotion to the Polish People's Republic rests with the teachers.

We are working intensely on the concept of upbringing through work in higher studies. It is a matter of judiciously replacing former student work practices in a manner acceptable to youth. At the same time, it seems advisable to us to return to the system of flexible studies as well as to the system allowing students to get to know their future work establishment and to learn how to work after their studies while these studies are still in progress. This is a complicated question, especially in the face of economic reform, but we believe that the work establishments also will be eager for the best possible preparation of their future workers.

We also are holding discussions on the elaboration of a new school of studies for working people. It seems to us that we have an obligation to support this type of possibility for acquiring knowledge. Specific needs always can arise among certain groups of people who did not complete their studies in a stationary system. We would like simultaneously to conduct these studies differently, to attract the interest primarily of the work establishments whose cadre policy should consider such a possibility.

#### PZPR School Secretary Interview

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Sep 82 p 4

[Interview with Dr Andrzej Rozycki, secretary of the PZPR School Committee at Warsaw University, by TRYBUNA LUDU correspondent Wieslaw Debki: "In the Academic Environment: To Get People To Sit Down at the Same Table"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] In several days the new academic year is beginning. We are talking about the problems which it will bring, about expectations, and about tasks of the party organizations with Dr Andrzej Rozycki, secretary of the PZPR School Committee at Warsaw University.

[Question] The past 2 years have been atypical for the higher schools--strikes, political feuds among students and the academic cadre, demagoguery, and intolerance have not fostered the proper implementation of the main tasks of the institutions, that is, upbringing, didactics, and scientific research. In your opinion, what will characterize the academic year that is approaching?

[Answer] Primarily, the search for normal functioning of the institutions. We will be doing everything to see that Warsaw University begins the new year without disturbances. Speaking of this, I have in mind the vicissitudes of our institutions and academic environments after August. Then we rushed from strike to strike; thus, there could be no talk of normal didactic or upbringing work, of foreign collaboration, or of scientific research. Thinking about normalcy, I have in mind not only a normal political situation but also a situation in which the institution would function properly within its own organizational structures, so that the didactic course would be properly organized, social issues would be ably settled, and the administration would function properly.

An important question which we are asking ourselves is the question of student deportment. In my opinion, there are speculative hopes of using students to stir up tensions. In certain circles functioning outside the institution, hopes always have existed that as students return, they will partake in activities which will result in disorder. Of course, this is an astonishing view. We will do everything to prevent the use of students in activities incompatible with activities for which the institution was created.

[Question] Much will depend on how much the academic cadre supports you.

[Answer] Of course. The influence of the academic teachers on the students is particularly important. After all, there are people who do not have a very soothing effect on students' impassioned heads. It seems to me, however, that within an hour of the beginning of martial law, serious reappraisals occurred in many minds. At the present time, even among people who were intensely involved in the Solidarity movement--so intensely that they sometimes acted without thinking--there appear statements to the effect that it is necessary to come to an understanding. And this attempt to come to an understanding must characterize the coming months. People at the institution have to sit down at a table together, for people who do not do this have no chance of coming to any agreement. Coming to an understanding in our case has to take place in connection with concrete work, in connection with our normal obligations. What I am saying may sound hackneyed, but it is the truth. The College Committee treats reaching a common understanding as the most important matter, as the condition for the functioning of the institution.

[Question] The party's power to operate depends mainly on its members. What is the status of your party organization today?

[Answer] The organization numbers about 1,000 members, including 250 students. We are convinced that we will have to assume the burden of taking stock of our ranks--I am avoiding the word "verification" purposely, for, after all, it is not a matter of that; we must simply, without becoming hotheaded, speak with our comrades, to evaluate whether everyone fits into the framework delineated by the Ninth Party Congress. There may be fewer of us, but let us be people on whom we can rely in all circumstances. We do not have that feeling now.

[Question] You respond to youth issues on the College Committee. Is there a chance that a broad upbringing front will be created at the university? Whom can you count on?

[Answer] We should turn to some positive experiences from several years ago. At that time a system composed of three factors operated in the institution: a presidential member who functioned very well, with a whole system of plenipotentiaries, a strong Socialist Union of Polish Students [SZSP], and a party organization. The party organization does not have to be in the forefront at all, it is rather a question of a certain inspiration, of exposing a good idea, and, sometimes, simply of fostering ideas which arise elsewhere. The "Sigma" Political Work Center, where the initiative of the SZSP was supported and protected by the College Committee, is such an example.

This system functioned quite decently; I think that it is not the system which collapsed, but the reality behind the walls of the institution.

[Question] But this system has not functioned in the past 2 years....

[Answer] The situation was quite different than it was previously; many factors were imposed on it--let us omit here the external factors and point out the internal ones. In the new presidential team, and partially also in the College Committee, there prevailed what is in my opinion the unhealthy custom of negating the achievements of past years. Many valuable things were cancelled out then, for example, the rectors' and deans' plenipotentiary system. This was a good system, the students knew where they could seek help and advice; the institutional authorities in turn could have comparatively easy access to the students. That was cancelled. It was acknowledged that these forms were no longer timely, that new ones had to be sought. But no one devised any new ones.

[Question] The activities undertaken by the party to form this system constitute one issue. Another one is the direct access to students. How will you want to influence students' attitudes, on whom will you rely here?

[Answer] We must concern ourselves with the students--the members of the party. This is our first obligation. They have the right to expect from us an active attitude towards them, and not only through ideological education. We have to bring about a situation in which we know each other and have a feeling of mutual bonds. Therefore, we are coming out with an initiative on winter camps for party youth. It is not a question of establishing some "schools," of course, but of bringing the members of the party organization close together.

The second issue is the future of the youth organization. The SZSP was always our natural ally. We have very positive experiences here. Therefore, we are interested in the situation of this organization. We are adopting the assumption that the SZSP will succeed in the environment, and we would like to see it as our partner. For the time being the situation with the union is a difficult one; the supreme council, district council, and another school council are continuing, but there is almost no organization in the faculties.

The third issue is that youth are not organized. We will want to reach them. We want to show that the party does not sit on the College Committee, that we have nothing to hide, that we are able to begin a dialogue. We ourselves will propose the topic, we will propose discussions, an unhampered exchange of views. We also want to get to know the views of youth in this way. We are counting here on the support of the student leftist environments, grouped mainly around the "Sigma" Departmental Party Organization [OOP] and the "Otrycki Club." Moreover, we are directing these proposals not only to the students but to all employees of the institution. I think that it is necessary to get people away from their absorption with daily issues and to incline them toward some intellectual reflection. The subjects are numerous, but we want to take up two groups of subjects in the near future, through party meetings, seminars, and panel discussions. They are: the face of Polish socialism, and economic reform.

[Question] The students are voicing many reservations about the didactic process; they maintain that classes are conducted poorly and that not all employees apply themselves to these classes. What does your party organization want to do in this area?

[Answer] In every party organization there are people responsible for these matters. We want them to examine the didactic classes and to intervene in the case of irregularities. We also are focusing the attention of all party members in our institution on these matters. Sociopolitical subjects are particularly important for us; changes occurred in their programs and now the problem is how they will function. To decrease daily burdens, the secretaries of the Basic Party Organizations [POP] should know how to look into student difficulties, and to aid them in various matters concerning not only didactics but also social questions, for example.

[Question] The effectiveness of your actions also will depend on what effect the party has on decisions made in the institution.

[Answer] Of course. A new law on higher education is coming into being, it guarantees us a place in the Senate (although not yet in the faculty councils), but it is not a matter of formal resolutions. Our influence will depend on how we appear in the environment, in all spheres of institutional functioning, and on what we have to say. The enormous political task of gaining influence in the faculty councils and the deans' colleges awaits us. We can gain our place in these bodies, our effect on their shape, not by formal entries but by political methods, methods of persuasion. After all, there are people who will be eager that the party not be present in academic autonomy. Now we have to fight for this presence.

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CSO: 2600/22

## NEW STUDENT ORGANIZATION 'NOA' FOUNDED

Krakow ECHO KRAKOWA in Polish 28 Oct 82 p 3

[Article by Ewa Smeder: "The ZSP 'NOA' Is a New Student Organization"]

[Text] The next congress of the Socialist Union of Polish Students [SZSP] will probably take place in the second half of November. This may be the last SZSP congress. Formerly, the SZSP is today the only student organization. However, in practice, it has in its ranks very few members. Only 10 percent of the students in Krakow Voivodship are avowed members who pay dues and officially admit membership. The situation is similar in other areas of the country.

However, this number is not a measure of student involvement in the organization. Many students get involved in various interest groups, agencies officially belonging to the SZSP. They work there, they organize their peers' and their own free time, but they do not feel any connection to the SZSP.

There is another group, just as numerous: passive students who limit themselves to their private social circles and have a negative attitude toward all forms of organizational activities. These are the facts.

A new idea has taken root, even before the martial law was announced. The idea of creating an entirely new student organization that would continue the professional-social traditions of the Polish Student Association, (ZSP), was developed in Krakow in the Bakalarz Club among the students of the Higher Pedagogical School. The WSP students quickly made contact with other higher schools and academic communities. They found a sizable number of dedicated students. They strongly influenced about 14 academic communities in the country. This summer they founded the ZSP "NOA" Countrywide Coordination Office. "NOA" means "new student organization" [nowa organizacja akademicka]. The organizers use this name to show that even though they are close to the ZSP traditions, they plan to create their own, new organization. It is interesting that, after the initial misunderstanding, the ZSP "NOA" organizers came to an agreement with many current SZSP activists, mainly at the



school councils level. They agreed that if there is to be an organization supported by a significant number of students it has to be an entirely new organization, and not just a mechanical change of an existing organization's name.

The ideological declaration of the ZSP "NOA" founding group says: "It is true that we are divided by deep political and ideological differences. It is also true that we have much in common, including didactic problems, socioexistential issues, proper organization of free time, and the question of finding a place in so-called adult life.

"We appeal: To defend our common interests, to fulfill our needs and ambitions, let us found today a socioprofessional student organization. The organization would have program, cadre and financial autonomy. It would be open to all points of view and it would display its own creative resources and those of others. It would be decentralized and it would use simplified regulations and financial mechanisms that would not become a barrier to implementing new initiatives and ideas."

These words have had a great impact among students. Let us not deceive ourselves, it does not mean that all students were reached and that they all supported the declaration. However, the declaration has led to discussions as a proposal that is worth thinking about. Thus, the planned impact was achieved. And it is of significance that mainly students attending the first year of studies, those who would seem the least active, were interested.

As I mentioned before, "NOA" was born in Krakow. The chairman of the National Foundation Group is Andrzej Orecki, a student of the fifth year of physics at WSP. Since 28 September of this year, he has also been the chairman of the SZSP District Council in Krakow. This is one more example of how the "NOA" influence with students is growing. But let us give him the floor.

ANDRZEJ ORECKI: "It would seem that I conduct a double-track activity. But the idea is to create a socioprofessional organization in which all students will find a place. We do not want an ideological-educational organization. Maybe such organization will be created later, if a need for it arises. But at this time we need an organization with a model and a program that would unite students instead of dividing them. We believe that on the first day of its congress the SZSP organization will be dissolved. The next day, in the conference room, the "NOA" delegates and about 170 so-called "consultants," nonmembers, representatives of student "branch" activities (i.e., culture, housing, sport, and other groups linked by common interests) will sit next to SZSP delegates. This is how the ZSP "NOA" National Founding Congress will begin. Of course, this will not be a fully authentic congress, i.e., it will not represent all students. In the present situation this is simply impossible. However, if the ZSP "NOA" is founded at the congress, a framework for the program of the new organization will be adopted, and a year later delegates to the First Common Congress will be chosen by ballot. Then we will see how many of us there are and what we want to do together.

It is difficult to predict the future of the new student organization. It is obvious that there is going to be a new student organization, since the "NOA" movement does not seem ephemeral. However, will it work out a program and modes of operation that a significant majority of students would accept as representative of their interests? Time will tell.

9959

CSO: 2600/82

BARBU INTERVIEW CITES IMPORTANCE OF LITERARY IDEOLOGY

Bucharest FLACARA in Romanian 8 Oct 82 pp 23, 26, 27

[Interview with Eugen Barbu by Ilie Purcaru]

[Text] [Question] Dear Eugen Barbu, you are a very controversial personality in Romanian literature today. Some people's dislike for the man also affect the works and vice versa until you do not know what to say anymore: does Eugen Barbu make trouble for the works or do the works trouble Eugen Barbu? Are you really that troublesome for others? And for yourself?

[Answer] I am not at all troublesome; I am just a person with the courage to speak certain truths and that's it. The works do not inconvenience me but they inconvenience others. As far as I am concerned I get along very well with myself.

[Question] This year it is a quarter-century since the appearance of your novel "The Hole." What do you think? Has time worked for or against this book?

[Answer] I think that "The Hole" will have a long life. Unfortunately, there are two or three generations of readers who only know the book from reading it in school. Nobody has proposed a republication in about 10 years. The publishers are concerned with other matters. This does not sadden me. The rarer a book is, the greater its fame. And this saga of the low life has suffered a cruel fate from the beginning. Taken out of the libraries for four years, the scandal at its appearance and so forth--everything worked against it but, look, it has been translated into 13 languages.

[Question] The "scandal" when "The Hole" appeared, however, cannot be forgotten. If you will permit me to remind the readers, then you were condemned as a "naturalist" like Marin Preda for "Ana Rosculet" or, later, like Ion Lancranjan for "The Cordonians." Now, since time has passed, what do you think were the real reasons for the adversities toward your book?

[Answer] Appearance of "The Hole" angered the old caliphs of dogmatic writing. One of them, Doreanu Popescu, set the tone by writing that the novel was scandalous and so forth. I also had stupidly accepted "launching" the book by beating the drums, that is, some photographs with a slum neighborhood wedding shown in the bookstore windows. At that time this gesture meant a provocation. They took the photos away and pounced on the book. They found all the defects possible. Of course I minded my own business. And does anybody know anymore who Popescu Doreanu was?

[Question] Perhaps. We only know that he also was the one who unmasked G. Calinescu for "Poor Ioanide."

[Answer] Exactly ! How much more about the mentality of that era can we talk? Just read "The Steppe" and other nonsense and you can understand why "The Hole" was so shocking.

[Question] Weren't the revisions you eventually made on this book somehow the effect of the pressures exerted by the critics? Remember how it was fashionable for critical interventions, better said the dictates of criticism or of "guidance," required changes in the aspect or even the structure of the works involved? Even if not admitted, some books actually were rewritten for these kinds of reasons.

[Answer] Happily, as also in the case of "The Prince," I did not accept any kind of change! The only change was made voluntarily by me at the 13th rewriting of the novel. There were just several words at the end: "You just think that the grass is growing, Gregory." And that's it. Nothing else was touched. It is true that as revenge the book was condemned for naturalism and other questions but , as had happened to others, I was trained. The whole thing is to resist the dummies.

[Question] If you will permit, let us return to the matter of the republication of "The Hole." I still do not really understand why even now, when time has done justice to your book, it has not been republished for so many years.

[Answer] I am not the one republishing "The Hole." The publishers do that and that is their business.

[Question] Recently, in 'LUCEAFARUL M. Ungheanu was speaking about critics of the period (the period of "The Hole" ) who, he said, had a sure instinct in having intuition about the value, an instinct which helped them identify it so that they could immediately demolish it. Was Ungheanu right?

[Answer] Ungheanu is right and Cristoiu was right when he cited articles of the time in his "Proposal" for "A History of Literature" in the literary-artistic supplement to SCINTEIA TINERETULUI. Whoever reads this realizes that today's liberals are the old Proletcultists who destroyed dozens of talented writers.

[Question] And the great classics!

[Answer] Exactly. They "killed" Labis, they buried Blaga all cowering and they forced Arghezi to sell cherries, they shoved V. Voiculescu in a sack and beat him like a cat. These things cannot be forgiven on any account. In their book "The Ages of Reason" Florin Mugur makes Paul Georgescu a champion of antidogmatism. I met this critic when I was an editor employed at GAZETA LITERARA. Sometime I shall publish some pages from JURNAL of that time; you will see another kind of "angel" in this man. You really have to be named Paul Georgescu to lie with such shamelessness. Ungheanu gave just a tiny bit of the "accusations" of the former critic, the "great novelist" of today, in Florin Mugur's opinion. You see that you cannot stand him anymore.

[Question] But, really, why doesn't the other part of the generation involved react to such mystifications of the period? You, for example, when will you decide to write your memoirs? What about "The Journal" you were talking about?

[Answer] It is written. I have more than 2,000 sheets for the "Journal." It paints a picture of my entire generation, with everything it has done, good or bad. I am sorry that I burned another "Journal" of 5,000 pages from the time of Stalinism. That was the first time I was frightened. There were even more interesting things in that one. Too bad. Of course, many of those I described in these notebooks will croak, but I cannot do anything about that. Their acts speak for themselves. They try to put forth a clean "face" in vain.

[Question] Please let us in on some of the things in this "Journal." For example, tell us about a less well-known episode (I was going to say a less clear episode) from your life, which gives rise to a kind of speculation: the school for military police, a school where you would get a certain military-type spirit.

[Answer] I was sent to the school for military police officers by my father, who did not want to have me die on the anti-Soviet front. He had made a simple calculation: the courses lasted three years. During this time I also was attending the faculty of law, which was required. I did want to enroll in the literature faculty, but this meant that after six months I would be sent to the officers' school in Ploiesti and from there to the front! I was against this and my father beat me silly, as he had done another time when I had decided not to go to high school anymore since I felt that I had nothing more to learn from the professors. I am indebted to him for his wisdom. He had calculated well. From '43 to '45 I fulfilled my years of military service. But I had a 9-year contract. I deserted. I was punishable with prison. The war had ended, the sentences were softer, but because I had passed as a "Bolshevik" I escaped. Colonel Petruc, who was to be mayor of the capital under the communists, understood me and I left safely, without failing to make another gesture. During the worker demonstration in the spring of '45 I refused to receive the 10 ball cartridges with which I would have been forced to shoot into the people on the street. This put an end to everything. We were under "martial law." But I was lucky. During the military service I wrote a type of thesis in which I came out against the anti-Soviet war, which a smart captain named Paguba read before the entire division and he ripped it up, actually helping me. I ended up with three days locked up, which was nothing compared to being courtmartialed. But I never made a big deal of these things.

[Question] Not a big deal or money, as I know it.

[Answer] I was young, imprudent. After I got out of the army I found some soldiers at my door. "It's all over," I said, "they're going to grab me!" But they were bringing me the "Military Virtue" for my antifascist activity. I still have the certificate. I was just Sgt Eugeniu Barbu! Some idiot wrote that I was a military police officer and that he found me in the military year ok for 1940. I was 16 then and a pupil at "Schewitz Thierin." Ion Caraion wrote in his "Journal" that I was at Mostovoi (the imbecile who wrote it copied Mostoboi, making an error on the proof) where I killed Jews!! In '40 I was giving them each a bowl of soup when they were working in the snow in our neighborhood. How would these unfortunates know that the people in the suburbs were not and would never be anti-Semitic!

[Question] Earlier, when you were talking about the ones correcting their biographies, trying to make them brighter for the new generations, I did not ask you something important. Please allow me to now. How do you explain your passion for aesthetic purism and for de-ideologizing positions of the former enemies of aesthetics, former followers of a tyrannical literary ideology?

[Answer] I have not given up short stories, but I only write for pleasure. I think the novel is much more interesting, although I do recognize the merits of short stories.

[Question] How did you reach "The Prince" from "The Hole," which are so different thematically as well as far as artistic formula is concerned?

[Answer] By accident. Opris from the movies came to me and said: "Balaure, give us a script with robbers!" I had not even imagined such a thing but somewhere the language of those scripts was in me. I called Sterescu the secondhand book dealer and ordered some books from that era; I still had something in my library but it was not enough. He found several hundred. I am still reading and in the meantime I also have written a volume entitled "The Adventure of the Romanian Language." I am fascinated by our language.

[Question] Excuse me for interrupting: what does the Romanian language represent for you?

[Answer] I wouldn't trade it for any foreign language! I detest French for its Cartesianism, of which so much is made. I think that only Spanish enchants me as much as Romanian and, somehow, Greek, although it is a language of crickets.

[Question] Let's come back to "The Prince." I interrupted you when you were saying that you are fascinated by the Romanian language. So?

[Answer] I am reading church books, old papers, commercial acts and many more and I still have not finished. That is how "The Prince" was born--through language. I thought I was done once and for all with this book but, look, from out of the blue came "Week of the Fools" too and I think something else is brewing. God help me!

[Question] Before "Incognito," that technique for living together which caused so much criticism, you experimented with it in "The Prince." But it seems that at that time you still were not quite so troublesome for some people, a right for which, if we remember well, nobody was against your procedure. Just Fanus Neagu seemed to have said something to you.

[Answer] That is how it was. As far as the polemics with Fanus are concerned, it brought us closer together than it made enemies of us. With his linguistic genius he could not help but get a taste of me, but the good-for-nothings made him nibble at me. He is younger than I am. I will leave the words of the Romanian language to him because he loves them.

[Question] Some critics are saying that "Week of the Fools" is better than "The Prince." What do you say?

[Answer] I never come out on my books. I collect all the praise and all the insults. I am not a masochist but when you read Iorgulescu and Manolescu you have to laugh.

[Question] Some say that Eugen Barbu detests all writers! Whom do you not detest?

[Answer] That's not fair! I love all the Romanian and foreign writers who write well. There is room for all of us; I'm not jealous. I gave a start to many young people

[Answer] A guilt complex! They want everything to be erased, but paper remembers. The new generations can be led into error, but a "history" of that time should show what they were thinking and, particularly, what they want to hide today! I want to say further that I did not like Beniuc and that he as well as others bear a large part of the guilt (like Zaciuc, for example), in the Blaga case, but, at least, he does not deny it. I prefer Beniuc who does not regret anything to the flunkies who change their color from day to day. And there are enough of them.

[Question] In the 60's LUCEAFARUL, moving under your leadership, opened a new road for our literature, particularly that being written by young people, a clear matter for friends and for the enemies of Eugen Barbu. In connection with the LUCEAFARUL era, I would like to ask you two things. First, was the innovative direction you gave the magazine continued by those who followed you? Second, why did so many of the writers you started at LUCEAFARUL after a time become the "black clients" of the critics, being attacked violently by them? That the idiosyncrasies attributed to you should have repercussions on them, that is, that Eugen Barbu should be called names through his children, through his grandchildren?

[Answer] Let us take that one line at a time. Unfortunately, what followed after I left LUCEAFARUL did not at all resemble what I had done there. During the time that N. Dragos and Ungheanu were directors, the magazine returned to the line I had imposed on it, perhaps a little more timidly, it is true! No matter what, the attitude of those there was imposed on me. Second, it is true that all the ones started out by me had to suffer because of me, but I bear no guilt. Happily those, these persecuted ones, all are real personalities! The literary harassers have nothing they can do to them and that's it. Then Nichita Stanescu escaped from me and if I would have had him in tow perhaps he would have won more. I think even now that the ones directing him at his beginnings deformed him a little aesthetically, but with his talent he knew how to reenter the national family in which any great poet enters in the end!

[Question] Let us come back to Eugen Barbu and his literature. Please tell us, did this literature--we now are referring to that following "The Hole"--also suffer from the labelling, from the black seals applied to your first novel and the type of literature you were proposing?

[Answer] All my books were slandered, trials were organized against them and charges were made against them. My polemics were to blame, but I do not regret anything. An important writer lacking literary ideology is unimaginable. Many talented people look pretty for the critics and fawn over these "pseudo-critics." I remember that around '57, when "The Hole" had appeared, Ivascu introduced me to Calinescu, who invited me to his house, curious to find out what kind of person I was. I didn't bother him and I did not even send him a book. I never sent a book to any critic precisely not to appear that I was looking for favors. This costs, but it is worth it.

"Question] Why did you give up short stories, where your successes were so great? And precisely when the need for short stories is being felt so sharply in our literature?



and I will keep doing that with the same enjoyment. I do not like imposters and false values. Today getting into the Union of Writers is not done on the basis of value but of relations. Join the grouping with the power--the publications come quickly; if you have another opinion, you wait for years! For about two years I have been asking two publishers to publish a poet from Galati and Dan Ciachir, although he has been published for so long, cannot find his place under the editorial sun; but they are continually being postponed, although the two publishers are publishing others who are far from Pegasus. Everything has become a kind of lottery. And at least I tested my taste with a "History of Modern Romanian Poetry!"

[Question] Artistically what Romanian writers today do you feel close to?

[Answer] I am close to very many Romanian writers, even those I have warred against at one time. I like Nichita, Gheorghe, Alexandru, Paunescu, Vadim Tudor, Fanus, Breban (even if I have spanked him plenty) but how many others they are but I do not want to make a long list. Everything that moves on the literary front must be helped and promoted.

[Question] How would you have done it if you had been president of the guild once?

[Answer] Why would I have been? I do not have the talent to accept praise so I have preferred to stand aside. Perhaps this is what brought me so much unhappiness but I swear that, still, if I had been there the writers would have had another system. Perhaps I would have demanded that they be more worthy, not to live from the charity of the Literary Fund (not all of them, clearly, but enough of them), to write, not stay day and night at Mrs Candrea's. Perhaps the state authority would have viewed us differently. We have 1,800 writers, but how many works? That's the question.

[Question] But today's critics--in your opinion, what duties would they have in the job of reestablishing a correct appearance for today's Romanian literature?

[Answer] We need sincere criticism, without animosity, group criticism, objective criticism which would not take into account the literary individual but his works. Without this we will never succeed at anything. But the literary atmosphere is so damaged that I am very pessimistic. Through the university, through the circles, through the Union of Writers journals the group policy is being manipulated and nobody will succeed in correcting anything. Read ROMANIA LITERARA. As soon as the Union of Writers president is changed, no matter who he is, then it becomes "genial." Studies, articles, books, republications, plays performed in all the local theaters, films, like in the fairytales! As soon as that one disappears from the scene, nobody hears of him anymore. You see the cases of Beniuc, Demostene, Botez, Stancu, Macovescu and so forth. You have pity for them.

[Question] What do you think, should we also talk about your client from SAPTAMINA, Ion Caraion the deserter? Or would it be better to give up saying anything extra about this sad person? Many say that he does not deserve the attention you are giving him.

[Answer] Why should we give up? You knew him better. Perhaps we should exchange roles and you tell me something from Craiova because you helped him. As far as the attention he is getting, it is welcome. The perfect flunkey deserves a series. But let's see what was the story with Caraion in Craiova?



[Question] In 1964, when I had the job of reestablishing RAMURI, the Craiova magazine, Ion Caraion also was sent to me as an editor. I really did want to help him and not just I, but all those from RAMURI, encouraging him with compassion, as a man who had suffered a great deal. I did not get mad that he did not work very much because he was not really succeeding in writing. I said to myself that he probably was traumatized and his pen wasn't working. But I soon was to find out--the paper with the proof was put before me--that his pen was working. What was Caraion composing? Poems, translations? Yes, a type of "translation," if you will, like the kind that SAPATAMINA is publishing now. Actually Caraion was a secret reporter from the editors. Like we Romanians say, he was telling on us. Denouncements upon denouncements, untruths about his colleagues, which forced me to give up his "services" for RAMURI. And that was everything. Oh, one other spicy detail for you. The megalomaniac you know was making a big deal of his relations abroad. Once he asked that I help him reach France, telling me that there, in two leaps and three bounds he would convince Ierunca to give up his traitorous activity and, even more, to return to Romania. "If you want," he told me, "I will bring him right to the RAMURI editors!"

[Answer] And didn't you take him up on his proposals?

[Question] Heaven forbid! Did I need another Caraion on the editorial board, with the pseudonym of Ierunca? As we know, the two of them later were to make a tandem poison. And that's about it regarding Caraion. And now do you agree to return to SAPTAMINA? Recently the journal has carried out a number of important campaigns against falsifiers of images and ideas, against the apologists for E. Lovinescu and the defamers of G. Calinescu, against the attempts of Z. Ornea to simplify the history of the interwar literary currents and so forth. But why, except for Z. Ornea's response, hasn't SAPTAMINA also given the retorts of others of those criticized by you?

[Answer] I have only received an answer from Z. Ornea. The others did not deign to publish in the "gutter press," as they stated. If you realized it, I allowed myself the luxury of being crushed by Caraion even in SAPTAMINA. I do not run away from insults and lies. I wish that more of those who are arguing with me would write me. I have broad shoulders. I can bear anything.

[Question] But it seems that they, or some of them, prefer to be behind the scenes.

[Answer] Yes, that is how it seems. As far as the denigrators of Calinescu are concerned, I think they have gotten what they deserve! Unfortunately, Lovinescu's defenders forget what is basically negative in his works, that is, anti-Romanianism, which cannot be forgiven. I do not think that anyone can be accused of love for another nation, but the denigrator of one's own country must be set straight mercilessly! Nobody can stand having the nation in which he is born be insulted; we should we?

[Question] You are warring vehemently with "Free Europe" in SAPTAMINA, on the radio. I ask you, as in the case of Caraion: does this pathetic "voice" deserve the waste of energy you are dedicating to it?

[Answer] It does. I am in good company. In their times, Arghezi, Ralea, Calinescu argued with it. But Manolescu, Eugen Simion, Ornea, Ilie Vrancea did not. So you see! Some listen to this station and believe the slanders it broadcasts. Should

we let them throw egg in our face, should we ignore them, should we endure it? Why? Is everything clean and pretty for Easter in their backyard?

[Question] What books will you give us, Eugen Barbu?

[Answer] I have two novels which are half completed: "A World to Win" and "Amza the Robber." One, "Janus," has reached page 800, but is unfinished. I don't know where the ideas will pop up next.

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## CRITERIA OF LITERARY CRITICISM EXAMINED

Bucharest ROMANIA LITERARA in Romanian 9 Sep 82 p 3

[Article by Valentin Silvestru]

[Text] The careful reader of modern literary histories--Italian, French, American, German--somehow is surprised by the multitude of names and notations on areas which generally are not the subject of research in reference books. A pair is remembered for reporting gathered "from the four corners of the earth"; someone is noted as a "newsman, theater critic" for a widely-read daily; someone else, "for many political articles and essays." "An editorial writer," "a radio-television script writer," "an author of musical comedies and poetry set to music" describe an attempt to include the literary phenomenon throughout the entire area of culture--which, of course, is in agreement with the times; literary creation no longer is considered to be just prose and poetry, dramaturgy is not being refused and works are not being ignored, works which as television series, for example, are veritable novels in installments, devoured by an enormous public.

The literary language itself and the practice of speaking correctly as well as a critically aperceptive faculty, so precious, of certain levels of the population now are being cultivated, along with books, also by other means, in which literature is introduced. Literary mythology, which is produced not only by literary figures and critics, gathers up in its vast melting pot an imponderable substance which emanates from the public's taste, activated in extremely diverse ways, not only by basic readings. Undoubtedly, the modern Romanian spirit is nourished by all types and breeds, even by those which literary theory has not yet identified or, stated better, has not taken on yet. Justifying his extension of a critical view not yet investigated by others, a famous foreign literary historian said that in his volume he programatically brought out new forms of creation opposite to the traditional procedures, convinced that the Novel, the Theater, the Life of Ideas deserve equal attention (not just the essay, but also philosophy, political thought, history and even the sciences to the extent to which they "inform" literary creation).

That is one viewpoint. Another purist one which we often encounter from the start eliminates from the sphere of science of literature everything which is not printed independently and interferes with other concerns--with the arts, for example. In one such survey, the "Dictionary of Romanian Writers" eliminates nearly all of dramaturgy (and specialized criticism, even if it was demonstrated in volumes and series of volumes). The most modest attempts to give a history of the current literary movement exclude film production, eliminate satirical and humorous literature, do not take into account the giant quantity of poetry or plays upon which operatic music or

choral singing rely. Also inexplicable is the disappearance of the interest in folklore for literary art, a folklore which in the modern times is seeing new, original expression and which always has been a chapter in the old histories.

A restrictive preconceived idea--which in some way shows why things are like this and not otherwise--is that what is of strictly cultural importance is not of interest. Invoked is the aesthetic perspective of G. Calinescu who recommended "the isolation of artistically cultural." But this disjunction was proposed as a polemic just for a certain age and to rectify archivistic excesses. His monumental "History" really is of all values, written with an inexhaustible concern with not leaving "shadowy areas," even cataloguing numerous "modest authors," or "those who passed by fast." It studies not only definitive and defining works but also peddled books, translations, reworked books. Here are included authors of productions which today we would call minor (and we do) and, in any case, unrecordable. For example, for E. Winterhalder verses are recalled which are no more than "charades, enigmas, puzzles," as well as others "put to music by I. Wachmann" as well as "the libretto for a heroic opera in three acts to the music of conductor Engel, entitled "The Battle of Calugareni." Moise Cilibi is remembered for his aforisms. G. Bar-onzi's satires are cited, the first "journal" (written by Matei Millo), "The Waters of Vacaresti," a "vaudeville comedy." Brought to attention is the theater columnist Al. Lazarescu-Laertiu. Recalled about N. Burlanescu-Alin is that he translated opera and operetta libretti ("Carmen," "The Bells of Corneville" and so forth). D. Teleor is part of a warm presentation as a "fantasy writer," an author of parodies and sketches. Appearing for the period closer to us are publicists, essay writers, memoir writers, authors of travel books. Mentioned (for N. Kiritescu) are press campaigns "in connection with the attitude of public opinion and the official world toward art." It is certain that the illustrious critic read the opera and operetta libretti signed by G. Bengescu-Dabija (in order to comment on some and get all of them in the bibliography). Finally, it is cause to recall that G. Calinescu made broad considerations on dramaturgy and, in general, did not remain insensitive to aspects which today generally are avoided by his descendants by invoking or not understanding enough the concept presented by him as a principled attitude, not a methodological criterion.

Clearly, each of the authors mentioned above is put in his place, some penalized drastically or treated condescendingly. Presenting a panorama of the field of literature without axiological instruments would produce ridiculous results and it would be of no use to anyone to have simple siloing of names of poets of choral groups and ballet librettists, of titles of sketches broadcast on the radio. But also just as useless is erasing certain literary contributions with vast reverberations from the indices and bibliographies. Writing about "Dramatic Poetry," E. Lovinescu dwelled in a certain way on the creation of Mihail Sorbul and, another time, on A. de Herz' comedies. But he did it without preconceived ideas about the minor nature of the comedy just as, another time, Titu Maiorescu did not hesitate to express positive opinions about the plays of Samson Badnarescu, without preconceived ideas about the lack of literary nature about the theater. A critical survey of the literary history is given its dimension by the importance of the work, by its influence and durability in time. But can the historical view be restricted on purpose through sanctioning in advance as lacking in importance of the literary act which requests the right to agreement and evaluation? The omission is more regrettable with regard to professional morality than the verdict which perhaps will prove to be wrong; one is the offence of lack of knowledge while the other, a circumstance which is totally normal and possible, is of an aesthetic lack or doubtful criticism or evasive taste. Is it

natural to devote entire pages in a wide-ranging work to certain poets of two thin books and to ignore Aurel Baranga's dramaturgy? According to what criteria can Teodor Mazilu's theater be abolished and excluded from an anthology of modern Romanian dramaturgy? Could Titus Popovici's film scripts (thousands of pages) be so inferior to his sketches of youth and short stories that they should not even be included in the specialized inventories of works? Is "Light and Shadows," his television series, basically a political novel of broad historical scope, outside literature just because it enjoys a visual artistic transcription?

The corollation of avoiding certain works regularly, and even genres, from axiological reasoning--on the basis of their claimed minor artistic nature--is precisely the spread of a subliterate in these territories, which is abundant the more it lacks critical checking and the need for order, classification and the hiererarchization with which basically literary history has its duty before the current times as well as before posterity. Under conditions of a cultural movement in which the confluences of literature with the arts and the trends of modern syncretization of the most varied creations require a certification of creative intellectuality against artisan improvizations and aggressive imposition through simplism, when the sociology of culture detects phenomena so captivating as the role of the critical awareness of literature in the extraordinary impact of works on the public, or the considerable extension of interest in modern art, or the gradual evolution of the task generated by taking into one's actual possession the national spiritual heritage on a broad level, criticism, literary and artistic history, specialized theory and culture more than ever before have to offer plural contents and overall viewpoints. That is, divulging a quality of view and vibration of the sensitivity which also should express and intensify the developmental nature of the state of fact.

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